

The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

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The Principia

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PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals, Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, duties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law; our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promise; our parol, the whole armor of God.

Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

THE BIBLE ABOLITIONIST.

Containing the testimony of the Scriptures against Slavery, and the Scriptural method of treating it.

"To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Isa. viii. 20. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the man of God might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." 1 Tim. iii. 16-17.

Part III.—Slaveholding brought directly to the test of the Bible.

CHAPTER XVI.

OPPRESSION—SUBJECT RESUMED. THE INTENSITY OF GOD'S HATRED OF SLAVEHOLDING EVINCED BY THE SCRIPTURE REPRESENTATIONS OF HIS HATRED OF LIGHTER OPPRESSIONS, IN THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

Among those who are troubled with reproofs of American slaveholding, there have not been wanting those, in the Churches and in the Ministry, who have denied that the story of God's vengeance upon Egypt and upon Pharaoh and his hosts for their oppressions of the Hebrews, affords any evidence of his displeasure against this country, its rulers, and its slaveholders, for holding the slaves under what is known to be a system of far sorer bondage. "The cases," (they say,) are not parallel. The Egyptians were polytheists, their bondmen were the chosen people of God, "and therefore God commissioned Moses and Aaron to deliver them, and lead them to Canaan, the land he had promised to their fathers. But the American slaveholders are not polytheists, neither are the negroes the chosen people of God, nor has he commissioned any body to deliver them. When he does, and when they appear among us, working miracles, in proof of their divine mission, it will be in season to attend to them."—They would seem to suggest the inference that oppression is no sin, unless committed by polytheists, especially that it is no sin when committed by the professed people of God, and upon a race who have no special claims to the divine favor!

"To the law and to the testimony"—Let us see what the Bible teaches concerning oppressions committed by the children of Israel themselves, the professed people of God, and committed in part, upon "strangers."

The Books of the prophets are largely occupied with this very subject, and so are the Books devoted to the histories of Israel and of Judah. We propose to present some extracts from these ancient "scriptures given by inspiration of God" and "profitable for correction, for instruction in righteousness"—[the science of human rights, which some pietists think profane] "upon whom these ends of the world are come." Some persons place a light value on the historical parts of the Old Testament, and wonder why they were put in The Bible, or doubt whether a divine inspiration had any thing to do with the record. Let them "search

the scriptures" "for instruction in righteousness," and revise their rash judgments.

PROPHECIES AGAINST HEBREW OPPRESSORS—ISAIAH.

We begin with the prophet Isaiah, who prophesied during the reigns of "Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and opened his message on this subject in the very first chapter.

"The vision of Isaiah the Prophet, which he saw, concerning Judah and Jerusalem" &c., &c.

"Hear O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken. I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider. Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters. They have forsaken the Lord, and have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they are gone away backward. Why should ye be stricken any more? Ye will revolt more and more. The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises and putrifying sores; they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment." Isa. i. 1-6.

What a picture of moral corruption have we here? The closing sentences comprize one of the standing proof texts of our Church creeds, on the article of human depravity. The charges of rebellion and apostasy are direct and unequivocal. The representation seems to be that the period for rebuke and chastisement was apparently past, that reformation and recovery were well nigh hopeless. Yet this is a picture of the Church and Nation of the Jews, even under the reigns of the pious Jotham and Hezekiah, as well as of the wicked Uzziah and Ahaz. For what sin was the Church and the Nation thus rebuked?

The prophet proceeds to predict the divine judgments coming upon them.

"Your country is desolate. Your cities are burned with fire. Your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate and overthrown by strangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city. Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, we should have been like unto Gomorrah" Ib. 7-9.)

From this comparison, the prophet rises still higher, and addresses them as though they were indeed the very people to whom he had likened them—

"Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom! Give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah." (v. 10.)

Had the Jews, then become polytheists. Had they openly renounced the worship of Jehovah! Not so.—We will read on.

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices to me, saith the Lord. I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and of the fat of fed beasts, and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hands to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations, incense is an abomination unto me, the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with, it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and appointed feasts my soul hateth, they are a trouble unto me, I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you. Yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear." (v. 11-15.)

From this it is evident that their sin, whatever it may have been, was of such an aggravated character in God's sight, that, on account of it, he wholly loathed and abhorred their solemn religious devotions as hypocritical and abominable. The language employed is exceedingly strong and emphatic. If taken literally, it would seem to deny that, as a nation, they had ever been required by him to offer sacrifices, or to come into his temple to worship him. But

this could not have been his meaning. The sacrifices and the solemn worship had been instituted by him, for their benefit, but their great sin had so polluted their services that he was weary to bear them. What was the sin of which they were guilty, and on account of which their religious services were thus spurned?

The close of the verse partly cited already, gives us some clue to its character.

"Your hands are full of blood!" (v. 15.)

Their sin was of the nature of murder. It was destructive of human beings. Murderous injuries had been inflicted, in some form, with their tacit assent. Are we to suppose that all the people of the nation, or a majority of them, had, literally, embrued their hands in the blood of their fellow men? This could not have been the case. No such particulars are specified? How then, and wherein, had they contracted blood guiltiness? We shall learn by reading farther.

"Wash you. Make you clean. Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. Cease to do evil. Learn to do well. Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow, though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." (v. 16-20.)

There was oppression in the land. There were those who oppressed their neighbors, especially the fatherless, the widow, those who were poor and defenceless. It is not on record that they reduced them to "chattels"—that they claimed them as property—that they bought and sold them like beasts—that they thus separated the ties of kindred, broke up the family relation, annulled marriage, forbade education, made it penal to teach them, or drove them to unpaid labor by the lash, preventing their escape by patrols, and bloodhounds—that they were thrown out of the pale of legal protection, as having no rights which their neighbors were bound to respect? Nothing of this kind is on record, or is probable. It may be considered certain that their oppressions fell far short of these. But they were oppressed. The strong oppressed the weak; the rich oppressed the poor; the creditor oppressed the laborer in his wages; those in power may, perhaps, have levied oppressive exactions. The nation, the mass of the "well-to-do" people had looked on, as did their rulers, had said that it was no concern of theirs, and had done nothing to "relieve the oppressed" to "judge the fatherless"—to "plead for the widow." They had not earnestly insisted that the magistracy, the civil government provided, for their own protection should be made effective for the protection of others, of those who most needed protection. It was for this sin, that God rejected and loathed their religious services. It was for this, that he described them as a sinful nation, a corrupt people, on the verge of destruction. It was for this that he classed them with "the rulers of Sodom"—"the people of Gomorrah," who had been destroyed for this, and kindred sins.

"Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom. Pride, fulness of bread, and abundant idleness, was in her daughters neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy." Ezekiel. xvi. 49.

It deserves special notice, as a most startling fact, that this terrible overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, and these threatened judgments upon Judah and Jerusalem, are here said to have been for their neglecting to "strengthen the hands of the poor and needy"—to "seek judgment" (justice) to "relieve the oppressed," to "judge the fatherless," to "plead for the widow." The charge is not that all the people of Sodom, or of Judah, or of Jerusalem, or that a majority of them, had actually committed the oppressions on

account of which they were condemned. The charge is that the oppressions were permitted, that they were not suppressed, that they were even unrebuked—that the people did not act the part of agitators against oppression, and keep up the agitation, until the oppressed were relieved. And this accords with that saying of our Saviour in Matth. xxv. "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me." And it deserves notice, that notwithstanding the severity of these divine rebukes, the people to whom they were addressed, were distinctly assured that if they would but change their course in this respect—if they would "seek judgment, relieve the oppressed judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow," their sins should be forgiven, and they should be restored to the divine favor.

The lesson before us then, teaches us this. We were looking for evidences of God's intense hatred of American slavery and slaveholding. The prophet Isaiah demonstrates to us that God ranks with the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, the worshipping assemblies, the cities, and the nations that neglected to act as agitators against even lighter oppressions. The application to the facts of our own age and nation, is too obvious to require formal statement—too appalling to be contemplated without dismay. If any one doubts the correctness of our exposition, let him read the paragraphs that next follow.

"How is the faithful city become an harlot? It was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it; but now murderers. Thy silver is become dross; thy wine mixed with water. Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves; every one loveth gifts and followeth after rewards, they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come before them. Therefore saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts, the Mighty One of Israel. Ah! I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies.—(v. 21-24.)

Our exposition is here confirmed. The victims of oppression had not been relieved by the rulers, the princes, the judges. They were in sympathy and companionship with the oppressors. Directly or indirectly, they had derived profit or advantage from them, and by winking at their oppressions. And therefore they would not execute justice for the oppressed. The sin of the nation, and of its worshipping assemblies, whose sacrifices God spurned, and whose prayers he would not hear, consisted in their permitting such a state of things—in taking no measures to secure the equal and impartial administration of justice; doing nothing to relieve the victims of these oppressions, not even pleading their cause before the rulers. Perhaps they sustained such rulers with their approbation. They probably enjoyed no privilege of voting, under their kings. If they did, and if they voted for such rulers, their criminality must have been still more distinctly and visibly marked.

The specific character of the sin so severely reprov'd, is still further indicated in the prophetic description of its removal.

"And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin. And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning; afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city. Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and her converts with righteousness.—(v. 25-27.)

After having overthrown the unjust rulers and the wicked generation who sustained them, God would raise up another description of men to take their places—judges who would execute justice, as in the earlier and purer days of the commonwealth. Thus should Zion be purified and redeemed. Those of the people who thus returned and were converted, would be restored by righteousness—would be righteous, regarding the rights of their fellow-men, while those of an opposite character would be destroyed.

"And the destruction of the transgressors and of the sinners shall be together, and they that forsake the Lord shall be consumed.—(v) 28.

The contrast between between the true worshippers of Jehovah, and the false professors who refused to "seek judgment, and relieve the oppressed," would thus be made manifest.

Those who think that religion has nothing to do with politics—those who think that the cause of the oppressed is out of place in religious assemblies—those who think that the agitation of such subjects tends to prevent or interrupt revivals of true religion, as taught in the Bible,—those who think that the religious devotions of worshipping

assemblies that do not plead for the oppressed can be acceptable in the sight of God, would do well to "search the scriptures" and examine the foundation of their own religious hopes, in the light of God's word. "There is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death." "The hypocrite's hope shall perish." "If a man love not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?" The same God lives and reigns now, that lived in the times of Isaiah. And he has not changed. The conditions of acceptance with him are the same now, in America, as they were then, in the land of Judah. Christ came not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil. And if ever there was an age or nation that called for the practical application of these religious tests, that time is the present, and that place is the United States of America, the seat of "the vilest" oppression "that ever saw the sun"—"there being nothing of the kind equal to it, on the face of the earth." †

* Wesley.

† Hopkins.

CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—SECOND ANNIVERSARY, Tremont Temple. Boston, May 26th. at 9 o'clock A.M., and 7½ P.M.

CONFERENCE AND BUSINESS MEETING, of the Members and Friends of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, at three o'clock P.M., in the Meison Hall, of the Tremont Temple Building.

Sermon by Rev. J. Blanchard President of Wheaton College, Illinois. Report and Resolutions by the Secretary—addresses by the President of the Society, and by Rev. Elnathan Davis, Rev. James A. Thome of Cleveland Ohio, Rev. A. F. Bailey of Marlboro, Mass. and others.

THE FREE MISSION ANNIVERSARY.

The Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Free Mission Society will be held on Thursday and Friday, the 30th and 31st of May, at the Metropolitan Hall, Jersey City. Annual sermon by Rev. J. M. Richards, Philadelphia, or his alternate, Rev. Samuel Aaron, Mount Holly, N. J.

The preliminary Board meeting will be held on Wednesday evening, at 4 P. M., at the Mission Rooms, 115 Nassau street. N. Brown, Cor. Sec.

THE KANSAS STRUGGLE EXTENDED OVER ALL THE SOUTH.

We published an editorial, not long since, on the tendencies toward a northern application of the "Free Soil" principle to the States of the South, not merely to the Territories. We have now to call attention to the fact that the slaveholders who invaded Kansas are extending their operations over their own States. There are "Free State men," and "Slave State men," in all the Slave States. The Missouri Border Ruffians are now operating in Missouri instead of Kansas. The South Carolina Ruffians are operating in South Carolina—the Virginia Border Ruffians in Virginia and so on, Jeff. Davis presiding over the whole. The present Administration, (unlike those of Pierce and Buchanan,) sympathizes with the Free State party rather than the Slave State party, thought it dare not call those parties by those names, for fear of offending the slaveholders, and in deference to the Chicago Platform, and its pledge to "let slavery alone in the States." If the Administration could have either the principle or the prudence to proclaim the abolition of slavery, the true issue would be joined, the sore would be brought to a head, and the whole difficulty settled, speedily.

The Daily papers abound in particulars, specimens of which will be found in our News Department.

THE STRUGGLE AND THE COST.—We most heartily rejoice over the intimations that reach us from Washington, that a decisive struggle is soon to be inaugurated for the rescue of Virginia from the clutches of the traitors who now tyrannize over the greater part of her soil, and are sucking out her life-blood; but this resolve to demonstrate with armed hand against rampant treason would be futile—nay, mad—were it not paralleled by a determination to call into service every effective regiment that has hitherto volunteered to serve for the war. The resolution has not been taken a day too soon. With only the force now subject to the orders of Gen. Scott, an advance would neither be advisable nor safe. It will be opposed by a muster of not less than 100,000 men, badly disciplined, indeed, and impatient of control—probably deficient in munitions and provisions, if not in the best weapons as well—but brave, desperate, and accustomed to the use of arms from boyhood. They will have the advantage in knowledge of the ground, in current information, and probably in cavalry. We judge a well-appointed army of 150,000 little enough for this enterprise, and this should be backed by reserves of not less than 100,000. To embody such a force promptly, the volunteers called out should certainly not be less than 400,000, as nearly 100,000 must be permanently stationed at St. Louis,

Cairo, Wheeling, and other points overlooking the western centers of traitorous activity.

Thus armed and prepared, the nation may strike home at its domestic foes with a moral certainty that its right arm will not be shattered by the blow.

Of course, the cost of such an armament must be appalling; but this is no time to talk of cost. The Republic must not die, and no cost can be too great that is necessary to its preservation. Assuming that the crushing out of the rebellion is a question of time and cost only, we hold it cheaper to employ 400,000 men to put it down in six months than 200,000 to close it up in a year. Every day of its continuance must cost the country at least \$1,000,000 in the derangement and paralysis of its industry, and six months subtracted from its duration is, therefore, \$150,000,000 saved to the nation. Aside therefore, from the obvious fact that the larger force will make the surer work, we hold that there is manifest economy in calling into the public service all who have volunteered to strike for the Union.—N. Y. Tribune.

The above, from the Tribune, is the first estimate of the military exigencies of the country, that, at all, approximates toward our own ideas of the reality. We pretend to no military sagacity, but have never been able to comprehend on what grounds success has been anticipated, on the scale of preparation that has been acted upon, hitherto. We can only account for it by supposing that we may be wrong, and almost everybody around us right, in expecting that the South will be able to bring against us any considerable and effective force. It is said that the South is unable to maintain, for any length of time, a large army. Be it so. For that very reason, the valor of desperation, not to say of starvation is liable to precipitate them upon us, at once, before we are ready for them. If what the Tribune now proposes had been adopted by the Government six weeks ago, and if the preparation were completed by this time, our present prospects would have been very different from what they now are. What if the starvation that our blockades and restrictions are bringing upon the South should literally compel nearly the entire South male population, negroes and all, to rush upon us, for food, as the Goths and Huns rushed upon wealthy and imperial Rome; are we ready for them?"

Or how can we be, if we delay making allies of the slaves till they discover that they have nothing to hope from us, and so, range themselves, for very self-preservation, upon the side of their masters, hoping to gain from their necessities or gratitude what they could no longer hope from either our common prudence or our sense of justice?

A proclamation of liberty to the slaves on condition of their supporting the Government, would have given us, at once, more than the 400,000 men that the Tribune is calling for, and we need only furnish them with arms, and the officers to lead them. If Gen. Jackson did not disdain to employ negro troops, addressing them as fellow-citizens and fellow soldiers, and commending their bravery and good order, as troops, why should Yankee Generals, Colonels, subalterns, and privates, curl their lips in derision at the thought of doing the same? Why should the nation itself be enslaved, conquered, or dismembered, to gratify a silly and wicked prejudice against color, peculiar to Americans, and comparatively unknown at the South; or to please and conciliate the slaveholders who are waging war against the Government; or to avoid the reproach of being called abolitionists—a title the South is already bestowing upon all Northerners—a title which, in less than twenty years, will be as honorable in America, as it now is in every country in Europe?

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ON EMANCIPATION UNDER THE WAR POWER.

The following extracts from the memorable speech of John Quincy Adams, delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, April 14 and 15, 1842, on war with Great Britain and Mexico, will be seen to have great significance at the present time:—

What I say is involuntary, because the subject has been brought into the House from another quarter, as the gentleman himself admits. I would leave that institution to the exclusive consideration and management of the States more peculiarly interested in it, just as long as they can keep within their own bounds. So far, I admit that Congress has no power to meddle with it. As long as they do not step out of their own bounds, and do not put the question to the people of the United States, whose peace, welfare and happiness are all at stake, so long I will agree to leave them to themselves. But when a member from a free State brings forward certain resolutions, for which, instead of reasoning to disprove his positions, you vote a censure upon him, and that without hearing, it is quite another af-

fair. At the time this was done, I said that, as far as I could understand the resolutions proposed by the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) there were some of them for which I was ready to vote, and some which I must vote against; and I will now tell this House, my constituents, and the world of mankind, that the resolution against which I would have voted was that in which he declares that what are called the slave States have the exclusive right of consultation on the subject of slavery. For that resolution I never would vote, because I believe that it is not just, and does not contain constitutional doctrine. I believe that, so long as the slave States are able to sustain their institutions without going abroad or calling upon other parts of the Union to aid them or act on the subject, so long I will consent never to interfere. I have said this, and I repeat it; but if they come to the free States, and say to them, you must help us to keep down our slaves, you must aid us in an insurrection and a civil war, then I say that with that call comes a full and plenary power to this House and to the Senate over the whole subject. It is a war power. I say it is a war power, and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and must carry it on according to the laws of war; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and martial law takes the place of them. This power in Congress has, perhaps, never been called into exercise under the present Constitution of the United States. But when the laws of war are in force, what I ask, is one of those laws? It is this: that when a country is invaded, and two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory. Nor is this a mere theoretic statement. The history of South America shows that the doctrine has been carried into practical execution within the last thirty years. Slavery was abolished in Columbia, first, by the Spanish General Morilla, and secondly, by the American General Bolivar. It was abolished by virtue of a military command given at the head of the army, and its abolition continues to be law to this day. It was abolished by the laws of war, and not by municipal enactments; the power was exercised by military commanders, under instructions, of course, from their respective Governments. And here I recur again to the example of Gen. Jackson. What are you now about in Congress? You are about passing a grant to refund to Gen. Jackson the amount of a certain fine imposed upon him by a Judge under the laws of the State of Louisiana. You are going to refund him the money, with interest; and this you are going to do, because the imposition of the fine was unjust. And why was it unjust? Because Gen. Jackson was acting under the laws of war, and because the moment you place a military commander in a district which is the theatre of war, the laws of war apply to that district. * * I might furnish a thousand proofs to show that the pretensions of gentlemen to the sanctity of their municipal institutions under a state of actual invasion and of actual war, whether servile, civil, or foreign, are wholly unfounded, and that the laws of war do, in all such cases, take the precedence. I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and slavery among the rest; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves. I have given here more in detail a principle which I have asserted on this floor before now, and of which I have no more doubt, than that you, sir, occupy that chair. I give it in its development, in order that any gentleman from any part of the Union may, if he thinks proper, deny the truth of the position, and may maintain his denial; not by indignation, not by passion and fury, but by sound and sober reasoning from the laws of nations and the laws of war. And if my position can be answered and refuted, I shall receive the refutation with pleasure; I shall be glad to listen to reason, aside, as I say, from indignation and passion. And if, by the force of reasoning, my understanding can be convinced, I here pledge myself to recant what I have asserted.

Let my position be answered; let me be told, let my constituents be told, the people of my State be told—a State whose soil tolerates not the foot of a slave—that they are bound by the Constitution to a long and toilsome march under burning summer suns and a deadly Southern clime for the suppression of a servile war; that they are bound to leave their bodies to rot upon the sands of Carolina, to leave their wives and their children orphans; that those who cannot march are bound to pour out their treasures while their sons or brothers are pouring out their blood to suppress a servile, combined with a civil or a foreign war, and yet that there exists no power beyond the limits of the slave State where such war is raging to emancipate the slaves. I say, let this be proved—I am open to conviction, but till that conviction comes, I put it forth not as a dictate of feeling, but as a settled maxim of the laws of nations, that, in such a case, the military supersedes the civil power; and on this account I should have been obliged to vote, as I have said, against one of the resolutions of my excellent friend from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) or should at least have required that it be amended in conformity with the Constitution of the United States.

"BIBLE ABOLITION—CHURCH ACTION." The following is the Document to which we alluded, in our last issue. We have great pleasure in presenting it to the readers of the *Principia*, and we earnestly recommend the adoption of the same, or a similar measure, by the Churches.

PETITION.

To the President of the United States of America.

This Memorial and Petition of "The 1st Congregational Church of Williamsburgh," Brooklyn, New York, respectfully represents,

That the Government of the United States is now engaged in a civil war, to put down a rebellion of slaveholders, whose object is the support of slavery and its extension over the whole Nation, and hence the true issue, at stake, is, the defence of the whole country, from subjection to slaveholders, by the total abolition of slavery, or on the other hand, the triumph of the slaveholders, resulting in either the subjugation of the whole country or in its dismemberment, and the establishment of a military despotism on our borders, with which it would be impracticable for us to maintain an honorable peace.

That submission to such a dismemberment, leaving the loyal portion of our Southern fellow citizens, the non-slaveholding whites, the free colored people and the slaves, under the common degradation of continued subjection to the oligarchy of slaveholders who now oppress and suffocate them, would be alike dishonorable to the Nation, unjust to the South and to the North, and untrue to the Union, the Constitution, the cause of freedom, and the mission of a protecting civil Government, like that of the United States.

That the termination of the present conflict by any pacification that should cement the Union on the basis of permitting an oligarchy of slaveholders over the agricultural labors of one half the States, as hitherto, would only be giving licence and increased vitality to the sole cause of our present troubles, with the certainty of their renewal, unless we submit to become a nation of slaves;—Hence,

That a National Abolition of Slavery, which has been a National Duty from the beginning—for the neglect of which duty the Nation is, at length, suffering the chastisements of Heaven, is now become a National necessity as imperative as is the necessity of averting National dishonor, and the extinction of freedom.

Your Memorialists and Petitioners still further represent—

That your excellency is Chief Magistrate of a Nation that, in the act of first asserting its nationality, recognized the national duty of protecting the rights of all the inhabitants by declaring that "all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and that "for the security of these rights governments are instituted among men"—"appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of its intentions" to establish a nationality for that end:—a Nation that has, accordingly "ordained and established" a Constitution "to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty to" "the people of the United States" and their "posterity"—a Constitution which you, Sir, have sworn to support and administer; a Constitution that declares itself to be "the Supreme law of the land," "anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding"—a Constitution prescribing as one of the duties of the President, that "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

We therefore petition your Excellency, that, as Chief Magistrate, you will execute "the Supreme law of the land," by "proclaiming liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof"—in accordance with the declared object of the Constitution, and the express requirements of God's word.

We ask you to do it, as President, and to do it now, without waiting for the assembling and the deliberations of Congress, because we believe you have Constitutional authority to protect Americans at home, as well as abroad; because the national exigencies admit of no delay; because we believe the National neglect of this heaven required duty is rebellion against God; because a Nation wielding the war power to suppress a pro-slavery rebellion cannot afford to risk the divine judgments, for a single day, by a continuance of rebellion against God, in neglecting to abolish slavery. A prompt proclamation of liberty, we believe, might prevent a sanguinary and indiscriminate massacre by the slaves, and the enrolling of them in the army would, by increasing its forces, tend to overawe the rebellion, thus preventing, in more ways than one, the effusion of blood.

We earnestly implore your Excellency, as the Constitutional "Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States" that you will exercise the military and war power thus vested in you by the Constitution, to call upon the colored population of the United States, bond and free, to aid in the protection of the Government, and to enjoy the protection of the Government, in return.

We remember that John Quincy Adams declared in Congress, in his speech, April 14 and 15, 1842, that in a state of actual invasion and of actual war, "whether servile, civil or foreign, not only the President of the United States but the Commander of the army has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves." He "referred to several precedents and to the example of Gen. Jackson," who, even before he was President defended New-Orleans by calling in the aid of slaves, and to the action of Congress, in remunerating him "for the amount of a certain fine imposed upon him by a Judge under the laws of the State of Louisiana." Congress also refused to compensate slaveholders who lost their slaves in the service.

We believe, with Jefferson, that slavery "transforms one portion of our citizens" into enemies, and we conceive that the necessities of the times require that these "citizen" enemies be made friends, by treating them as citizens. Already the rebels have employed slaves, against the Government. We see no reason why the Government should not employ liberated slaves against them.

We believe that the measure for which we petition, would enlist the sympathies of philanthropists, and secure the commendations of wise statesmen—that it would inspire with enthusiasm the friends of Freedom, and strengthen the courage of loyal citizens—that it would meet the approbation of the civilized and Christian world, and of posterity—that it would harmonize the instincts of patriotism with the dictates of conscience—above all, that it would secure the protection and aid of the God and Refuge of the oppressed, in whose hands are the destinies of nations.—For all this, your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Adopted by the Church at a Special Meeting, May 14, 1861, }
called to consider this petition prepared. Attest.
H. ARMSTRONG DIAS, Clerk.

Signed, By order of the Church,
SIMEON S. JOCELYN,
Pastor and Moderator.

If adopted by churches, societies, or other bodies, may be signed by moderator, clerk, or other officers, on their behalf; or by the individual members at pleasure, as in the case of citizens.

The following, as a brief and convenient form of petition, for the signature of individuals, was also prepared and adopted by the Church, and recommended for general circulation.

PETITION. To the President of the United States of America. The undersigned, citizens of—respectfully petition that, in the exercise of your powers as Chief Magistrate and as "Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, when called into the actual service of the United States," you will call on all the inhabitants of the United States, of all conditions, bond and free, to aid in supporting the Government, assured of its protection, under the flag of national Union and freedom.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1861.

LETTERS on business for the *Principia* should be addressed to M. B. WILLIAMS, the Publisher.

LETTERS for the Editor, whether for his consideration, or for the public, should be addressed to WILLIAM GOODELL.

ORDERS for books or pamphlets may be addressed to either of the above.

But in all cases, the business matter should be on a slip of paper separate from suggestions or communications for the Editor—because business papers must be kept on the Publisher's file, by themselves. For the same reason, what is designed for the Publisher should be on one slip of paper, and matter designed for the Editor's attention or use should be on another, though all may be put into one envelope, and directed to either.

All letters for us should be carefully directed to 339 Pearl street, not to 48 Beekman street, nor to Box 1212, (the former address of Wm. Goodell, where some of his letters continue to be sent.) This is the more important now, as the office of our friends, there, is about to be removed; and letters directed there will be liable to be lost.

"THE FLAG OF OUR UNION"—WHAT DOES IT SYMBOLIZE?

"OUR TROOPS"—SHALL THEY FIGHT FOR FREEDOM?—OR FOR SLAVERY?

Neutral they cannot be.—Neutral they ought not to be.—Neutral they will not be.

It is in vain to say that the war has nothing to do with slavery—that it is only for the support of the government, against the Rebellion,—that the slavery question will take care of itself—or that it must be postponed until the war is over, and be settled afterward.

Slavery has everything to do with the war. It waged the war against anti-slavery: and nothing but anti-slavery can meet and cope with it.

"The Government" that needs to be "supported" is either pro-slavery or anti-slavery. It is not, and cannot be neutral. If it is not anti-slavery, then it is pro-slavery. And if it is pro-slavery then it is essentially on the same side with the Confederates they are making a bluster of fighting against. It is only fighting against itself, and every victory will prove, in the end, a defeat.

If the slavery question "takes care of itself," without the wise care of the Government, the Government will, perhaps have to "take care of itself" in its hour of extremity, as it best may.

If the slavery question has to be postponed until after the war—if such a thing could be—then the question whether the war, if successful on our part, is to be a curse or a blessing, would have to be postponed still longer, or at once settled against us.

What then, does the "flag of our country symbolize?" Are "our troops fighting for slavery, or freedom?"

The following documents may cast some shadows, if not light, on the subject.

Gen. Harney commanding the U. S. forces in Missouri, issued a Proclamation to "the people of the State of Missouri," dissuading them against secession, inviting and urging them to remain in the Union, and support the Federal Government. The closing paragraph is as follows:

Disclaiming, as I do, all desire or intention to interfere in any way, with the prerogatives of the State of Missouri, or with the functions of its executive or other authorities, yet I regard it as my plain path of duty, to express to the people, in respectful, but at the same time decided language, that, within the field and scope of my command and authority, the "supreme law" of the land must and shall be maintained; and no subterfuges, whether in the forms of Legislative acts or otherwise, can be permitted to harass or oppress the good and law-abiding people of Missouri. I shall exert my authority to protect their persons and property from violations of every kind, and I shall deem it my duty to suppress all unlawful combinations of men, whether formed under pretext of military organizations or otherwise.

WM. S. HARNEY, Brigadier-General United States Army, Commanding.

We have italicised the words "property" and "every kind" to inquire whether "slave property" was not meant to be included. The inquiry it seems, was suggested to the minds of the slaveholders, which gave rise to the following correspondence.

LETTER TO GEN. HARNEY.

Gen. Wm. S. Harney, Commanding the Military Department of the West, St. Louis, Missouri.

SIR: In common with thousands who have perused your

admirable proclamation of this morning, I return you the thanks of a citizen of Missouri, for its patriotic tone, and tranquillizing assurances. There is nothing in this paper, which, in my opinion, needs explanation; yet I wish to be able to answer, with the authority of your name, a question which I have already replied to, on my own judgment. Last evening, a gentleman of the highest respectability and intelligence, from Greene County, Missouri, asked me whether I supposed it was the intention of the United States government to interfere with the institution of negro Slavery in Missouri or any Slave State, or impair the security of that description of property. Of course, my answer was most unqualifiedly, and almost indignantly, in the negative. I told him that I had no means of forming an opinion that were not open to every other private citizen, but that I felt certain that the force of the United States would, if necessary, be exerted for the protection of this as well as any other kind of property. Will you be good enough to spare from your engrossing military duties, so much time as may be required to say whether I answered correctly.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your most obedient servant,
THOMAS T. GANTT.

St. Louis, May 14, 1861.

GENERAL HARNEY'S REPLY.

May 14, 1861.

THOMAS T. GANTT, esq., St. Louis, Mo.—Sir: I have just received your note of this date, inquiring whether, in my opinion, you were correct in replying to a citizen of South-Western Missouri, as to the purpose of the United States Government, respecting the protection of negro property. I must premise, by saying that I have no special instructions on this head, from the War Department. But I should as soon expect to hear that the orders of government were directed toward the overthrow of any other kind of property as of this in negro slaves. I entertain no doubt whatever, that you answered the question you mentioned, correctly. I should certainly have answered it in the same manner, and I think with the very feelings you describe. I am not a little astonished that such questions could be seriously put. Already, since the commencement of these unhappy disturbances, slaves have escaped from their owners, and have sought refuge in the camps of United States troops from the Northern States, and commanded by a Northern General. They were carefully sent back to their owners. An insurrection of slaves was reported to have taken place in Maryland. A Northern General offered to the Executive of that State the aid of Northern troops under his own command to suppress it. Incendiaries have asked of the President permission to invade the Southern States, and have been warned that any attempt to do this will be punished as a crime. I repeat it, I have no special means of knowledge on this subject, but what I have cited, and my general acquaintance with the statesmanlike views of the President, make me confident in expressing the opinion above given. Very respectfully your obedient servant. WILLIAM S. HARNEY.

Brigadier-General commanding Military Department of the West. This is sufficiently explicit. If it rightly expresses the wishes and intentions of the Federal Administration, the questions at the head of this article are answered. The "flag of our Union"—in that case, symbolizes slavery. "Our troops" are being employed for the support of slavery, the antagonist of freedom. "The Almighty," said Jefferson "has no attributes which could take sides with us, in such a contest."—"Our troops" are, no doubt, brave. But shall they be required to fight against the Almighty?—

"Our flag"—"the flag of our Union" is indeed sacred. Shall we permit it to be desecrated, by transferring it from the fair citadel of freedom, and planting it upon the dark dreary battlements of slavery?

The *New-York Tribune's* ingenious and convenient solution of the question, is this.—Protection to slave property is not to be extended to States in rebellion against the government. They must take care of their slave property as they best can. It is only the loyal, the law-abiding, the Union loving States—the states that submit, quietly to the Administration of President Lincoln, that are to enjoy the paternal protection of the National Government and the secure possession of their human chattels.—The loyal slaves States are to remain slave States, and the National Government will see to it that their slaves are kept in subjection, crushed down and throttled, if they attempt to assert their "inalienable rights."—It is only the rebellious, Jeff. Davis States, that are to be given over to the horrors of emancipation, and to the calamity of being deprived of the blessings of slavery?

What a stroke of National policy have we here, for the defence of "our glorious Union" and the crushing out of rebellion! What a tempting bait to the 300,000 slaveholders, at the expense of four million slaves, and six or eight millions of non-slaveholding whites, including the "free State" men, now under the harrow of the "border ruffians"?—These, with the slaves, (three fourths of a million of whom are capable of bearing arms) our prudent administration can afford to ignore

and help-trample down, now that it is in process of winning over the slaveholders to their support!

See how the policy is already working, how it is expected to work, and what the result would be, if it should be successfully carried into execution.

Maryland was, lately, in a State of rebellion against the General Government, really so, if not in form. The slaves were about to rise in support, virtually, of the Federal Government.

Our GEN. BUTLER offers to help GOV. HICKS, put them down. This conciliates the slaveholders, and lo! Maryland becomes a loyal State! Thus we read the import of GEN. BUTLER's reply to GOV. ANDREW of Massachusetts, in defence of his policy, and in illustration of its benefits!

Thus encouraged, the same policy is apparently pursued in respect to Virginia, and is openly proclaimed by GEN. HARNEY in Missouri.

What next? GEN. BUTLER, we are told is to operate in North Carolina and Tennessee as well as in Virginia. The three States stand dubiously in respect to the Union. How are they to be treated? By the same rule, it may be presumed.—"Remain in the Union, and the Federal Government will help you keep down your negroes. Go out of the Union, and we will let your negroes do what they please with you!"

Having thus subdued rebellion in these States, the way will be prepared for the same operation in the Gulf States.

By this programme, the security of the Union and the security of Slavery are to go hand in hand. As the one succeeds, so does the other.—The result of the war, if successful, on the part of the Government, will be to place slavery on a firmer footing than ever, with renewed assurances and pledges of national support, in all coming time!—The demand of the slaveholders, in Congress, last winter, for an amendment of the Constitution for perpetuating slavery, a demand re-echoed by President Buchanan in his Message, assented to by Mr. Seward, in his Speech, and by Pres. Lincoln in his Inaugural, recommended by both Houses of Congress and by Gov. Morgan, without distinct remonstrance from any prominent political journal in the country—[by none except one in the West,] this demand would be likely, in that case, to be acceded to, as the finale of the Republican victory of 1860, and of the glorious Union war of 1861.

But will it succeed? Not unless God is dethroned, or unless, in his righteous decree of reprobation, he is reserving this nation for a more terrible overthrow than could be otherwise reached, and than the world has yet witnessed.—It has been believed that he is now coming out of his place to deliver the nation as well as the slaves from the dominion of the slaveholders. These hopes must be disappointed, or else the programme of the Administration, as understood by its two Generals, Butler and Harney, will disappoint its projectors.

It must be acknowledged that the idea of fighting the slaveholders without the help of the slaves, without the help of the God and Refuge of the enslaved, is a daring and an ambitious one. So was the idea of the Arch Rebel described by Milton, but it proved an impracticable one.

What if, while at war with the slaveholders and the slaves, the Government should suddenly find itself in war, also, with France and Great Britain? What if northern troops, or a portion of them, with a sprinkling of abolitionists and abolition chaplains, should have some scruples of conscience about fighting the battles of slavery, when the issue shall be fully understood? What if the very sections of the free States from whence help chiefly comes, the people whose help is most needed and most relied on, should sympathize in such scruples, and loudly remonstrate? What if God, in his Providence, should permit the forces of Jeff. Davis to prevail over those of President Lincoln? Or, what if, after both the great belligerents, having well nigh annihilated each other, should both sink down exhausted, crippled, and helpless as infants, while hundreds of thousands of stalwart colored men, fresh for the onset, with hearts burning for deliverance, having bided their time, should start up at God's bidding, seconded by his right arm, and clothed with his thunder, and should walk over the course, in the majesty of freemen?

Who knows what shall be?—It will be as God pleases! "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches"—the sinews of war—"to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of

skill.—"Men are taken in the snare, when it falls upon them."

Let all who are impartial to God, bestir themselves, what so time in plenty through of this second it is needed, Supreme Ruler.

Gen. Butler's demand of the noted to the The Mich.

Interrupted Wheeling, turned here more by the calverts on up and the hours, and The rebel t. tack.

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Fugitive. 71st Regim. May 15.

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skill." "Man also knoweth not his time, as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare, so are the sons of men snared, in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them."

Let all whose loyalty and love of country is based on the impartial love of man and guided by the love and fear of God, bestir themselves and utter, earnestly, to those around them, whatever of wisdom is within them. Let them lose no time in petitioning the Chief Magistrate to 'proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof' thus securing the military aid most needed, just where it is needed, and with it the approbation and the aid of the Supreme Ruler.

News of the Day.

SATURDAY, 1861.

Gen. Butler has gone to Annapolis. He is still in command of the Department of Annapolis, and has been promoted to the rank of Major-General.

The Michigan regiment is expected this afternoon.

Interruption of travel Westward by the Rebels, etc.— Wheeling, Thursday, May 16.—Passengers who have returned here this morning, who attempted to reach Baltimore by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, report that two culverts on the road, near Harper's Ferry, have been blown up and the rails removed. They were detained fourteen hours, and the troops numbered about three thousand. The rebel troops at that point were hourly expecting an attack.

A full regiment will be in camp at this point within a few days—all Union men.

The Secessionists of old Virginia have been ordered to leave Wellsburg.

The port of Charleston is now under blockade, the frigate Niagara being stationed there. Many vessels have been turned away, but a few have managed to enter. Other vessels will be sent immediately, to render the blockade effective.

Fugitive Slaves. A letter from a member of the N. Y. 71st Regiment writes, under date of Washington Barracks, May 15.

The guard on the bridge across the Anacostia, on Friday night, arrested a negro who attempted to pass the sentries on the Maryland side. He seemed to feel confident that he was among friends, for he made no concealment of his character and purpose. He said he had walked sixty miles, and was going North. He was very much surprised and disappointed when he was taken into custody and informed that he would be sent back to his master. He is now in the guard-house, and answers freely all questions relating to his weary march. Of course such an arrest excites much comment among the men. Nearly all are restive, under the thought of acting as slave-catchers.

Baltimore, Thursday, May 16, 1861. I learn from a gentleman who left Washington this afternoon, that the Government have received, to-day, direct and positive intelligence from their agents in the South, to the effect that the plans of the South for an attack on Washington were now nearly matured, and that the attack would be made with an overwhelming force.

In consequence of this intelligence a large additional force will be called to Washington at once.

It is said also that Gen. Scott has ordered the immediate occupation of Arlington Heights by a powerful park of artillery.

J. C. Breckinridge. The rumor that J. C. Breckinridge had turned Unionist seems to have been premature. Maj. Anderson only spoke of it as a rumor that had reached him, but did not express a belief of its correctness.

The Union men of Missouri are acting with great determination. In addition to the capture of the secession forces at Camp Jackson, a detachment of volunteers, under Captain Cole, surrounded the town of Potosi, where a band of secessionists were in possession. They were all taken, and the ring-leaders sent to St. Louis as prisoners of war. A company of rebel cavalry were also dispersed at De Soto by the same body of Union volunteers, and thirty horses captured.

Ross Winans, the wealthy Baltimore Secessionist, who had been arrested for furnishing arms and a steamer, built by him for the rebels, is said to have been "honorably discharged." The Tribune has another version of the affair:

"It is said that he was only allowed to go free, on giving his word of honor to do no act hostile to the Government."

Oh the majesty of the slaveholder!—What non-slaveholder could have done what Ross Winans did, and get off so easily?

Troops insulted in Baltimore.—The statement made by some, of the troops recently passing through Baltimore have not been molested nor insulted, is incorrect. Ringgold's Artillery was grossly insulted nearly all the way through the streets, but no offensive attack was made upon them. The commanding officer restrained his men from inflicting a deserved chastisement upon the insulting fellows who thronged the sidewalks.

MONDAY, 20.

War prospects. Our dispatches from Washington this morning indicate that the approaching battle will be postponed for several days. The rebels at Harper's Ferry have withdrawn their forces from the Maryland side; Gen. Scott has ascertained from a messenger, dispatched for that purpose, that no batteries have been erected at Arlington Heights, opposite Washington, and that, except a picket guard of twenty men opposite Georgetown, there are no soldiers within a radius of five miles of the Heights. But the towns further south swarm with secession troops, and all the indications point to a concentration of a large army in northern Virginia, for the purpose of either making an attack on Washington, or offering battle to the federal troops in their apprehended march on Richmond. It is supposed that active operations will not commence until Jeff. Davis arrives to assume the command in person.—The World.

The latest war news.—The war news this morning is not definite, but the movements foreshadowed are of great importance. Large bodies of troops are rapidly concentrating at Fortress Monroe, where will be the headquarters of Gen. Butler, and whence at least one of the great expeditions planned by the Government will set out. The establishment of the new Military Department of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee creates a fresh excitement at Washington, and of course through out the country. The Massachusetts 5th and 8th Regiments received orders yesterday to prepare for instant departure. They were in readiness for marching in half an hour. It appears now that Gen. Wool is to find active service at some other point than Fortress Monroe; Gen. Butler is to have the chief command there. A letter from the Minnesota states that she has made captures of \$300,000 worth of vessels and cargoes; she is expecting that the Rebels will attempt to fortify Sewall's Point, in which case they will be forced to desert, at once. A deserter from Harper's Ferry declares that up to Thursday night the Rebels had there only 12 pieces of cannon. They are continually committing depredations on the property of private citizens in their vicinity, causing great alarm and much ill feeling. Reports from Richmond represent Gov. Letcher as being badly frightened, and as confident that there will be no fighting; if this prediction of his means anything it means that rebels will withdraw from the contest; an act of prudence which they are probably hardly wise enough to perform. Spies are daily detected in Washington: they come from Virginia, under one pretext and another, observe the course of military preparation there, and then return, unmolested, with their information. Some rockets were seen on Saturday night from Baltimore, and a detachment of troops was sent out to learn from what place they came and for what cause they were discharged. When the detachment reached Perryville, it was discovered that the rockets came from some point between that place and Belair, but nothing further is now known; the soldiers, while there, arrested three men, suspected of being bridge-burners. Reports from Mississippi say that active military movements are taking place to establish an efficient Home Guard for protection against servile insurrections; so it seems that the boasted confidence of the slave-owners is not thoroughly genuine. It is said that on Saturday a thousand Minie rifles found their way from the North to Harper's Ferry for the rebels. A traveler states that he last week passed 15,000 troops in Tennessee, on their way toward Virginia.—N. Y. Tribune.

The offer of General Butler to put down a slave insurrection in Maryland will not be extended to the seceded States, which must be left to take care of their own servile population. The volunteers of the North have not enlisted in this war for the purpose of suppressing slave insurrections in the rebel States, but for the preservation of the national Government.—Tribune.

Persecution of Unionists in Missouri.—St. Louis, Mo., May, 15.—The Secessionists have been carrying on the driving out process long enough. To drive out a Union man is a guaranty of favor, at Jackson's Court. All over this State, this work is being done. The fugitives are numbering legions. Single men are attacked by armed bands and ordered to leave without bidding good bye to any one, no matter how nearly related and driven out, without the least opportunity to procure means enough to purchase a meal while on the road. The process is accompanied with a free use of the most blasphemous and insulting expressions. The powers that be not only tolerate all this, but encourage it.

The St. Louis Democrat says the Union men of St. Louis and vicinity may congratulate themselves on the crushing out of the Secession monster in their midst; but their friends in the interior are undoubtedly suffering the cruellest persecution. The following is the notice served upon all Union men in the neighborhood of Palmyra, Mo.:

Sir: You are considered hostile to the interests of this community, and you are hereby notified to leave this state forever, by the

8th day of May, 1861: and every minute you remain thereafter will be at your peril.

Done in Council of Southern Legion, this 30th day of April, 1861.

Under this notice, according to the Keokuk and Quincy papers, hundreds of good men, with their families have hurriedly left the State, sacrificing all their property, glad enough to get away with their lives.

We received last evening the following dispatch:

St. AUGUST, May 15, 1861.

Last evening Dr. A. Y. Leimer of Liberty Township, near Osage Bridge was arrested by orders, and sent to camp at Jefferson City to be tried by martial law, on charge of raising a Union company. The mounted forces are after several others of the same township on the same charge.

We are permitted to make the following extract from a private letter received by one of our leading business houses:

BOONVILLE, May 13, 1861.

The excitement is high here, and especially against the Germans, on account of Boernstein's firing on the citizens.

If we don't get United States military here soon, or all over the country, this State will see an awful sight; while, otherwise, all can be prevented and the Union saved. There are all kinds of reports afloat about United States troops taking Jefferson City and burning bridges. It is said the Governor is packing his papers and making ready to leave, as well as the Legislature.

We received this morning thirteen wagon loads of powder from Jefferson City for our Guards.

Our Mayor was shot in the shoulder last Saturday by a Secessionist, in a political controversy. Cannot say if he will recover or not.

Secession outrages in Missouri.—How that State is to be driven out.—We were called on last evening, by a citizen of Missouri, who is on his way to Washington, as the representative of the Union men of Northern and Middle Missouri, for the purpose of asking the Government for protection. The gentleman is a farmer, and resides near Lexington in that State. He is a slaveholder, and a strong advocate of slavery, but a firm Union man, and a citizen whose intelligence and enterprise have given him a position of large local influence.

He says the Secessionists of Missouri have been organized for several months, in oath-bound societies throughout the State. They consist of the more reckless politicians, and the rowdy class of citizens, but are largely in the minority in the State. They have, however, possession of the State Government, and of all the State arms. This fact enables them to carry on with a high hand, and to bully and browbeat the orderly Union loving-citizens of the State. To his knowledge the Governor of Missouri and the leading Secessionists have been in constant communication with the Montgomery rebels, and have promised the secession of the State if furnished with arms. The arms received at St. Louis were the first instalment from the South, and other supplies are to be received, overland.

He states that a few days before he left home a Union meeting was called at Lexington. The Court House was filled with the orderly and best citizens of the town and vicinity. After the organization the stars and stripes were brought in, and received with enthusiastic cheering. During this interesting ceremony, and while a German citizen was waving the flag, a company of armed Secessionists jumped in through the windows, screaming like fiends, and discharging their firearms. The German who held the flag was shot down, the nations ensign taken from him and trampled under foot. Heroically he regained the insulted banner, pushed it into his bosom, and though immediately afterward felled with slung-shot, retained possession of the starry flag. The people, unarmed, and not expecting interference with their peaceful assemblage, fled from the Court House in dismay. Since that, a perfect reign of terror exists throughout the whole neighborhood. Bands of armed Secessionists visit the houses of Union men, order them to leave the State, and rob them at option. Many have sent their plate and valuables out of the country; or, unable to do this, buried them for safe keeping.

This state of things continued until the seizure of the secession camp at St. Louis. That turned the tables somewhat. The secessionists, who have but few arms beside revolvers and bowie-knives, became alarmed at the rumor that a thousand Federal troops were on their way to Jefferson City, the Capital of the State. Our informant states that, had the rumor been true, no more would have been heard of Secession in Missouri. A thousand troops could have scattered the Secessionists and the Union men would have rallied with alacrity to the support of the banner of the Union. The rumor frightened nobody worse than the Governor. On that point our informant, who was then in Jefferson City, speaks from actual observation. Gov. Jackson positively trembled, so great was his fright. He knew he was guilty of treason, and that it would not be good for him at present to fall into the hands of the Government.

The Legislature was hurriedly assembled at midnight. Gov. Jackson rushed wildly into the Senate, and threw himself under its protection. The greatest excitement prevailed in both houses. The cooler leaders of the Secession movement took advantage of the excitement to press through the various measures looking to Secession which, from their obnoxious character, had met with strong opposition. Before daylight the military and similar bills of usurpation were passed. Under these laws, the Governor can not only demand the service of every citizen for the State, but by proclamation forbid their service under

the United States. In defiance of the Constitution of the State, the Governor was authorized to use funds set apart for educational and other purposes, in procuring arms. Should these arms be purchased and taken into the State, none but Secessionists will get hold of them.

When our informant left Northern Missouri, a Secession encampment was to be formed at Georgetown, under Gen. Clarke. Military companies to the number of 1,500 men had been ordered to rendezvous there, expecting to get arms from St. Louis.

Another encampment was ordered at Liberty, where some two dozen pieces of artillery belonging to the State were forwarded, and also one hundred breach-loading muskets, forcibly taken from a warehouse in Kansas City. These movements are intended to overawe the Union citizens of that portion of the State.

Our informant says that he himself, heard Gov. Jackson say, on the 11th of December, that Missouri must be forced out of the Union,—that he and others were pledged to it, and it must be done. He is as great and wicked a traitor as Cobden or Floyd.

On his way here, the gentleman had an interview, at St. Louis, with Gen. Harney. He is making haste to Washington, to persuade the Government to send one or two regiments into Northern Missouri, escorting arms for Union men: All they want is arms, and a trustworthy force to rally around. He says he is willing to sacrifice everything he owns, negroes and all, for the Stars and Stripes, and thousands of other Missourians are just like him.

The Dominican Plot.—To the editor of the N. Y. Tribune.—SIR: Some weeks ago I sent you a communication explanatory of the Spanish movement in St. Domingo. It was predicated on correct knowledge of the previous intrigues of Santana, and on the conduct of the Spanish Crown, toward him. Twice he had offered to exchange the liberties of his people for a cross of honor and a title; twice his advances had been decisively repulsed—but, in supposing that they would again be similarly treated, I find that I have erred. Spain has this time accepted his proposals, provided that no powerful nations protest against the Spanish occupation.

I am asked, why does not England or France protest? I do not know. Policy often causes nations to tolerate crimes which they detest. Officers of the Haytian Government assured me that France and England would not permit such an act as the Spanish occupation of St. Domingo; but as I see no notice of any action on their part against Spain, I fear that I have been misinformed.

Why should not the United States at once protest, in a tone that will send a cold shudder through every chamber of the Palace of Madrid? We were afraid, not long since, that by losing Fort Pickens the Confederate Felons would command the Gulf. But a greater danger now threatens us. Should Spain declare a war against Hayti—by making a quarrel, for example, about the boundary question,—and seize the Mole St. Nicholas, she would soon hold at her mercy our entire commerce with California and the Isthmus. Shall we permit this blood-thirsty, putrid power to beard us in this fashion? Shall the only slave-holding country in Europe dare thus to insult us, at a time when our slaveholders are arrayed in insurrection?

The Monroe doctrine should at once be enforced, or it may soon be too late. The nation that lost Gibraltar in the Old World, may soon have another Gibraltar in the New World. Look at the map, and see how we would be situated with Spain as the mistress of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Mole St. Nicholas. It will not be lost time for our shippers and merchants to study the chart of the West Indies from this point of view.

Let us, now that our hands are in, make a clean thing of this slaveholding impertinence, and be done with it forever.

Let us tell Spain to keep her hands off from the Dominican Republic, unless she wishes to see brawny arms around the neck of beautiful Cuba. We need Cuba, Hayti, and Porto Rico, as the future England, Scotland and Ireland of our colored races: and it would be doing no more than justice to them for the long centuries of wrong we have perpetrated, to seize from the exterminator of the Aborigines and the introducer of African Slavery into America, her sole remaining trans-atlantic possessions, and present them as a free gift to the races whom she was the first to rob of their lands and their rights.

You may have noticed that none of the John Brown men—notwithstanding all rumors to the contrary—have taken any part in the military movements in the North. Nor will they. But if the Government wishes to employ them in Cuba, I do not hesitate to say that it has only to authorize them to prepare, and they will be in readiness to sail. Respectfully,

Boston, May 18, 1861,

JAMES REDPATH.

BAPTISTS AT THE SOUTH.—The Rev. Dr. Fuller, of Baltimore, who made himself conspicuous, three or four weeks ago, as a member of that Committee of Young Christians who waited upon Mr. Lincoln, to request that the Government of the United States would reconsider its conduct, and consent to a quiet submission to the Sovereign State of Maryland, has transferred his labors to another quarter where, if not more efficient, they will be better appreciated. He turns up at Savannah, in the Southern Baptist Convention, as an undisguised soldier of Se-

cession, and chairman of the Committee on the state of the country. In this capacity he has presented a report to that body, which met with universal approbation, every member rising to his feet, to signify how hearty that approbation was.

The action of the Southern Baptist Association, was as follows:

Resolved, That the lawless reign of terror at the North, the violence committed upon unoffending citizens; above all, the threats to wage upon the South a warfare of savage barbarity, to devastate our homes and hearths with hosts of ruffians and felons, burning with lust and rapine, ought to excite the horror of all civilized people. God forbid that we should so far forget the spirit of Jesus, as to suffer malice and vindictiveness to insinuate themselves into our hearts; but every principle of religion, of patriotism, and of humanity, calls upon us to pledge our fortunes and lives in the good work of repelling an invasion designed to destroy whatever is dear in our heroic traditions, whatever is sweet in our domestic hopes and enjoyments, whatever is essential to our institutions and our very manhood whatever is worth living or dying for.

Resolved, We do recommend to the Churches of the Baptist Denomination in the Southern States to observe the first and second days of June as days of humiliation, fasting, and prayer to Almighty God, that he may avert any calamities due to our sins as a people, and may look with mercy and favor upon us.

TUESDAY 21st.

Prospects of a Foreign War.—"Occasional," writing to the Philadelphia Press from Washington, says—

"That later news from Europe leads the Administration to anticipate a less cordial support by England and France of the policy adopted towards the seceded states than was looked for a few days ago. Should these two great Powers attempt to treat the Davis piracy as a Government, to disregard the protest of the Administration, and to force the blockade, the war will extend from the New World to the Old. In such an event we shall have a clean open field, on a clean open issue. It will be the battle of every element of slavery against every element of liberty. The end would be reached through bloodshed, but the victory would be with the right.

The preparation of the Administration for a long and comprehensive campaign, though secretly made, are stupendous. Up to this moment they are not based upon the contingency of a war with foreign countries; but the spirit of the people will sustain any expenditure that may be deemed necessary to vindicate the Government against Europe as well as domestic foes.

The Washington *Intelligencer* interprets the recent acknowledgment by the English Government of the belligerent rights of the seceded states, as meaning that the Confederate pirates will be entitled to carry their prizes into British harbors.—N. Y. Sun.

The N. Y. *Evening Post* understands that, although the British Government will not, itself, treat the Confederate privateers as pirates, it will forbid its subjects to join with or assist them, and will not allow their prizes to be carried into British ports; all which, says the *Post*, is strictly in accordance with the rights of neutrals, by the laws of nations.

The ship *Argo*, from Richmond, arrived here yesterday with a valuable cargo of tobacco, a prize to the United States.—N. Y. Tribune.

The Governor of Kentucky has issued a proclamation forbidding the movement of Federal or Rebel troops on the soil of his State.

The progress of the war. Sewell's point, at the entrance of Hampton Roads, and opposite to Fortress Monroe, [which commands the navigation from Chesapeake Bay to Norfolk and Richmond, Va.] has been occupied by rebels who have been, for some time past, engaged in putting up offensive works. On Saturday afternoon the steamer *Star* discovered a battery at Sewell's point, mounting two guns. The *Star* opened fire and soon silenced one gun. Shortly after, the Thomas Freeborn, Capt. Cash, came on the ground and being of lighter draught, at once upset the remaining gun. The same vessel, seeing a knot of Secessionists standing together near the dismantled battery, threw a shot into the group, the members of which scattered speedily. The engagement occupied three hours and more, at the end of which time the offensive work was thoroughly demolished.

Schooners captured.—On Sunday night the Thomas Freeborn, cruising in the Potomac, captured two suspicious schooners, one of which contained thirty rebels. The prizes and prisoners were taken to the Navy-Yard.

Important news comes from another point. On Sunday a body of 1,000 Virginians and South Carolinians from Harper's Ferry took a position on the Virginia side, opposite Williamsport, a town about seven miles from Hagerstown, Md. They there were in a situation to command the ferry at that spot, and were expecting on Monday to be joined by another body of nine thousand men with cannon.

Gen. Butler, it is understood, has orders to proceed at once to active movements forward into Virginia, and will directly remove the obstructions in Norfolk Harbor.

Gov. Letcher has met with a loss. He had caused to be made for his particular study accurate military maps of Virginia. These having been finished at Washington, were on their way to the Governor when they were seized by order of the War Department.

Mississippi troops. We have two reports of Mississippi troops, which may refer to only one movement. It is said that on Sunday 1,100 of them left Richmond, under Capt. Barkdale, for Harper's Ferry. Also, that 2,000 Mississippians reached Harper's Ferry on Sunday. It is reported that the smallpox has broken out at the latter place.

From Texas, we learn that fears are entertained of an attack upon the banks of the Rio Grande by Cortina. It is said that he is moving with a large force up the river, and that he receives large accessions.

Seizure of the Telegraph. Yesterday, by a bold stroke, the Government obtained possession of most invaluable documentary evidence against the sympathizers with treason in the North. At a given hour, the officers of the war swooped down upon every considerable telegraph office in the Free States, and seized the accumulated manuscript dispatches of a twelve-month. The result is that the Government can now trace the secret operations of the Rebels and their aiders and abettors, and henceforth hold the Northern enemies of the Republic at its mercy.—Tribune.

Union men in Virginia.—Their Policy.—"It is not to attempt to divide the State, but to treat the action of the Richmond Convention, and of Gov. Letcher and his subordinates, as equivalent to a seditious abdication on the part of the State authorities, and thereupon to organize a Provisional Government which shall proceed to perform its duties in the name of the Commonwealth of Virginia."—Tribune.

Spain—San Domingo.—According to the latest news, the Government has not yet entered into arrangements for the government of San Domingo, but it is announced that slavery will not be introduced.

Col. Vosburgh, of the 71st N. Y. Regiment, died at Washington, of hemorrhage of the lungs, and his remains were sent home for interment.

The 7th Regiment is expected to return in a few days, when their term of enlistment will have expired.

The 14th is reported to have been ordered to Harper's ferry.

Lord John Russell to recognize the Rebel letters of Marque.—From the Boston Evening Transcript, May 19.—The foreign papers received this morning by the steamer Parana, give a more complete report than that sent by telegraph, of the debate in Parliament on American affairs. Lord John Russell is reported to have said: "As to the letters of Marque, there was a precedent in the case of Greece when it separated from Turkey. The right of that country to issue letters of marque was allowed, and the law officers of the Crown, who had been consulted, had declared that such a right would belong to the Southern Confederacy."

This is a very important statement, but it may only mean that Great Britain will not, like the United States, regard the Southern privateers as pirates. Pirates being the enemies of all civilized powers, every nation is bound actively to assist in their destruction. Great Britain declines to take this ground; yet she may none the less refuse to allow her ports to be used by Southern privateers, and her Courts to adjudicate on prizes. Meanwhile The London Times says there are letters of marque in London.

This is not an acknowledgment, in form, of the Confederate States, but is undeniably, an important step in that direction. If not speedily put down, (as they may easily be, with the help of the slaves) we see no reason to doubt that they will be recognized, unless the religious abolition sentiment of the British people interposes strongly against it. The labors of Dr. Cheever, we repeat it, are of the utmost national importance, at this crisis, and may turn the scale of peace or war with Great Britain.

Traitors in the Treasury. Mr. Chase has been urged to swear in the Treasury employees, but, for various reasons, has not done so until to-day, when twenty refused to take the oath. They were at once discharged.

We should like to see a similar purgation of the Navy, if it has not been made.

SEIZURE OF A POWDER SLOOP. At seven o'clock this morning the Harbor Police boat No. 6, Coxswain NeSmith, discovered

the sloop very suspiciously, having the stow-house keeping of

The Reign of

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the sloop Times in the North River, deeply laden and looking very suspicious. Upon boarding her she was found to have one hundred and fifty kegs of powder snugly stowed. The parties having the sloop in charge were arrested and sent to the station-house for examination, while the vessel remains in the keeping of the police.—*N. Y. Post.*

[From the Cincinnati (O.) Gazette, May 18.]

The Reign of Terror in the South. Northerners flogged, shot and hung in Mississippi—Mustering and movement of rebel troops.

Nearly every day some fresh arrivals of refugees from the violence and ferocity of the New Dahomey bring to this city fresh and corroborative proofs of the condition of affairs in the rebel states. Many of these have come thence at the peril of their lives, and to avoid threatened death, have taken a hurried journey surrounded by thick danger from the madmen who now fill the South with deeds of violence and bloodshed.

The people in that section seem to have been given up to a madness that is without parallel in the history of civilization—we had almost written barbarism. They are cut off from the news from the North, purposely blinded by their leaders as to the movements and real power of the government, and in their local presses receive and swallow the most outrageous falsehoods and misstatements.

Yesterday one William Silliman, a person of intelligence and reliability, reached this city, returning from a year's residence in Southern Mississippi. He was one of a party who, in 1860, went from this city and engaged in the construction of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad.

Mr. Silliman for several months past has lived in Cupola, Itawamba county, one of the lower tier of counties, two hundred miles from New Orleans, and one hundred and sixty miles from Mobile. He says a more blood-thirsty community it would be difficult to conceive. Perfect terrorism prevails, and the wildest outrages are enacted openly by the rebels, who visit with violence all suspected of loyalty, or withholding full adherence to the kingdom of Jeff. Davis. Could the full history of these outrages be written, and that truthfully, many and most of its features, would be incredible and monstrous, belonging to another age, and certainly to another county than our own.

The party who is suspected of hostility, or even light sympathy, with the rebellion, is at once seized. He is fortunate if he is allowed to leave in a given time, without flogging. He is still fortunate, if only a flogging is added to the order to depart. Many have been hung or shot on the spot. Mr. Silliman details five instances of the latter as having occurred among the amiable people of Itawamba county, within the past ten weeks, of several of which he was the eyewitness, a mob wreaking their vengeance upon their victims under the approval of local authorities. These five men were northerners, at different times assailed by the rebels. Three of them were strangers to all about them.

On Saturday of last week, a man was hung at Guntown, who refused to join the rebel army, and also refused to leave. He was taken to a tree in the outskirts of the village, and left hanging to a limb. He had a family in the place. Guntown is ten miles from Cupola. The same day at Sallito a man was hung under very similar circumstances, and still another at Vonona, where a traveller was seized in passing through the place. All these towns are within twenty miles circuit of Cupola, where Mr. Silliman resided. He says that he can recall twelve instances of killing, whipping and other outrages thus visited upon the victims of the rebels in that vicinity, within the past two months. Many have been waiting in the hope that the storm would "blow over," but have one after the other been forced to submit or seek safety in flight.

WEDNESDAY, 23.

Seizure of arms at Baltimore.—Baltimore, 21.—This afternoon, two companies, numbering 120 muskets, from the Philadelphia camp, proceeded to an unoccupied house, near Green Mount Cemetery, and seized a large quantity of goods stored there, comprising 1,500 muskets, the boxes marked "Virginia muskets," and 34 boxes containing 4,900 pikes. The arms had been in custody of the City authorities.

The Army.—No army movements of special importance are reported as having taken place at the Capitol. At the Relay House, on Monday night, the outposts, consisting of detachments of the Massachusetts Sixth, were fired upon, but with no effect. They immediately rallied, and made a search for their assailants, who, however, being horsemen, succeeded in making their escape. We have no definite news relative to the movements of the secession troops in Virginia, further than that they continue to make incursions across the Potomac into Maryland for purposes of plunder. Gen. Butler has not yet left for his post at Fortress Monroe.—*Times.*

The news from Washington and Virginia this morning, (says The Tribune), is not of a startling character. It is clearly the intention of Gen. Scott to proceed with sure steps, avoiding the risk of being compelled to retrace his way. Aggressive measures will not be taken, till they can be so taken that there shall be

no necessity of going twice over the same ground. Meanwhile the North is gaining strength, and the South increasing in weakness, pinched in basket and store. If Jeff. Davis becomes impatient of a delay on our part, which injures him more than several pitched battles, he may push on and make an attack. If this is done, the responsibility will be on his own head. Such seems to be the tenor and tone of the word from Washington this morning.

Those who have, within a day or two, visited Alexandria, say that the town seems like a deserted village. Four or five thousand people have left Alexandria since the commencement of the present troubles. There were perhaps six companies of soldiers there, numbering at the outside 500 men. The Pawnee is lying close at hand, in an attitude quite discouraging to traitors.

A Virginian, lately arrived in Washington, says that there are in the State from 50,000 to 85,000 armed men. He thinks that Jeff. Davis intends to push on to Pennsylvania. Gov. Letcher is calling on the soldiers to vote for the Ordinance of Secession at the approaching election, and it is said the voters in some districts will be forced to declare their votes openly, so that the Union men can be compelled to leave the State.

Persons who have recently passed through the South, northward, say that they received some annoyance, though none of a very serious kind. Soldiers were everywhere in motion toward Virginia, all eager for fight.

It is said that 1,000 men left Harper's Ferry on Monday, for Grafton, Va., to resist passage of Federal troops to Wheeling.

The New York 2d Regiment passed through Baltimore yesterday, receiving many attentions, and being cheered at various points of the route.

The ship Gen. Parkhill, of Liverpool, on the way to Charleston, S. C., was captured on the 18th by the Niagara. She was supposed to have ammunition and arms concealed beneath a load of salt, though her captain declared that he was innocent of any evil intent.

The valuable services of Floyd have been secured by the rebels, who have made him a General. They must look sharply after their arms, unless the ex-Secretary has tamed his propensities since he ran away from the United States Government.

It is stated that the rebels have established a blockade at Memphis, prohibiting the passage of all outward bound boats.

A reconnoitering party from Chambersburg, yesterday visited the rebel camp. They saw 300 troops ten miles from Harper's Ferry, and 700 at Williamsport. It is believed that they intend a forward movement soon.

Gov. Ellis of North Carolina, has telegraphed to Jeff. Davis, that his State has passed an act of secession by a unanimous vote.

THURSDAY, 23.

The war policy.—The tone of our dispatches from Washington is not actively belligerent. It is stated more distinctly and authoritatively than before, that it is not the intention of the Government to make any important forward movement by land into the South for some time yet.—*Tribune.*

Voting in Virginia.—Senator Mason, in a letter to the Winchester Virginian, distinctly says: "If it be asked, what are those to do, who in their consciences, cannot vote to separate Virginia from the United States—the answer is simple and plain—honor, and duty alike require, that they should not vote on the question—if they retain such opinions, they must leave the State.—*Id.*"

This reminds us of an incident of French history. When the troops were called upon to vote on the question, "shall Napoleon Buonaparte be first consul for life?" The military order ran thus: "There is to be no interference with the right of free voting; but if any soldier votes against General Buonaparte, he will be immediately shot."

France, England, and Secession.—On the 24th of April last, Secretary Seward sent instructions to our Ministers in Europe to notify the parties to the Treaty of Paris that the United States Government had accepted the first point of the Treaty, which abolishes privateering. This will prove an effectual bar to all the schemes of the Jeff. Davis government in that direction. The acceptance of this point makes the U. S. government a party to the entire treaty, the fourth point of which recognizes all blockades which are made effectual,—so that no interference can take place in our blockade of Southern ports, provided we enforce it with a sufficient number of vessels. We received intelligence by the *Persia*, also, that the efforts of the rebel agents in Europe, who have been sent over for arms, have been entirely unsuccessful. They had found it impossible to obtain anything whatever upon the securities offered by them.—*Times.*

THE NORTHERN ROUTES FOR COTTON.—The Mayor of Memphis has addressed a note to a firm of cotton brokers, assuring them that the people of that city have no thought of interfering with the transmission of cotton by any route to market, but by whomsoever owned or purchased, or whatever the direction it might take, the rights and interests of all parties, both North and South, would be scrupulously respected, and that "a Committee of Safety" has been appointed to prevent the interference of any lawless individuals or combinations. Assuming such a determination to express the feelings of the producers of cotton throughout the South, we take it that what a people are careful to produce, they will eagerly sell, we shall have no lack of cotton offered to us to send to market over our interior routes, on the blockade of Southern ports. The question is narrowed to the point, whether we will allow its exportation through any route, not that it will not be raised and offered for sale. Consumers in England and elsewhere should lose no time in ascertaining the views of our Government upon this important matter.—*Id.*

Washington May 22.—Gen. B. F. Butler, just before leaving this city for Fort Monroe, told a Senator that he would be in Richmond within a few days. Such a remark was certainly indiscreet on the part of a military officer, but, being public, the *Times* is entitled to the benefit of it.—*Id.*

It seems that North Carolina positively seceded on Monday. A dispatch from Raleigh to Richmond says so.

FRIDAY 24th.

"Arlington Heights are to be occupied" once more! The old news over again. Gen. Butler has arrived at Fort Monroe. Gen. Sanford is to command the New York troops at Washington. The Batteries at Sewell's Point, have again been shelled by a war vessel, the *Star*. Harper's Ferry is now said to be "occupied with 15,000 well selected troops, amply provided," instead of the small, unarmed, disorganized, ill-fed rabble, before reported. Georgia troops are driving whole families, in multitudes, women and children, from Virginia. Provisions scarce. Slave insurrections expected.

Family Miscellany.

A SHADOW.

What lack the valleys and mountains
That once were green and gay?
What lack the babbling fountains?
Their voice is sad to-day.
Only the sound of a voice,
Tender and sweet and low,
That made the earth rejoice,
A year ago!

What lack the tender flowers?
A shadow is on the sun:
What lack the merry hours,
That I long that they were done?
Only two smiling eyes,
That told of joy and mirth;
They are shining in the skies,
I mourn on earth!

What lacks my heart, that makes it
So weary and full of pain,
That trembling Hope forsakes it,
Never to come again?
Only another heart,
Tender and all mine own,
In the still grave it lies,
I weep alone!

THE LAY OF THE LABORER.

A spade! a rake! a hoe,
A pickaxe, or a bill!
A hook to reap, or a scythe to mow,
A flail, or what you will—
And here's a ready hand
To ply the needful tool,
And skill'd enough, by lessons rough
In labor's rugged school.

Aye, only give me work.
And then you need not fear
That I shall snare his Worship's hare,
Or kill his Grace's deer;
Break into his Lordship's house
To steal the plate so rich;
Or leave the yeoman that had a purse
To welter in a ditch.

Wherever Nature needs,
Wherever Labor calls,
No job I'll shirk, of the hardest work,
To shun the work-house walls.

My only claim is this,
With labor stiff and stark,
By lawful turn my living to earn,
Between the light and dark.

Nor parish money, or loaf,
No pauper badges for me.
A son of the soil, by right of toil
Entitled to my fee.

No alms I ask; give me my task:
Here are the arms, the leg,
The strength, the sinews of a man,
To work, and not to beg.

Still one of Adam's heirs,
Though doom'd by chance of birth
To dress so mean, and to eat the lean,
Instead of the fat of the earth;
To make such humble meals
As honest labor can,
A bone and a crust, with a grace to God,
And little thanks to man.

WHAT MAKES THINGS MUSICAL.

"The Sun!" said the Forest. "In the night I am still and voiceless. A weight of silence lies upon my heart. If you pass through me, the sound of your own footstep echoes fearfully like the footfall of a ghost. If you speak, to break the spell, the silence closes in on your words like the ocean on a pebble you throw into it. The wind sighs far off among the branches, as if he were hushing his breath to listen. If a little bird chirps uneasily in its nest, it is silenced before you can find out whence the sound came. But the dawn breaks. Before a gray streak can be seen, my trees feel it, and quiver through every old trunk and tiny twig, with joy; my birds feel it, and stir drowsily in their nests, as if they were just murmuring to each other, 'How comfortable we are!' Then the wind awakes, and tunes my trees for the concert, striking his hand across one and another, until all their varied harmonies are astir; the soft, liquid rustlings of my oaks and beeches make the rich treble to the deep plaintive tones of my pines. Then my early birds awake, one by one, and answer each other in sweet responses, until the sun rises, and the whole joyous choros bursts into song to the organ and flute accompaniments of my evergreens and summer leaves; and in the pauses, countless happy insects chirp, and buzz, and whirl with contented murmuring among my ferns and flower-bells.—The sun makes me musical, said the forest.

WHAT MAKES THINGS MUSICAL.

"Storms!" said the Sea. "In calm whether I lie still and sleep, or now and then, say a few quiet words to the beaches I ripple on, or the boats which glide through my waters. But in the tempest you learn what my voice is, when all my slumbering powers awake, and I thunder through the caverns, and rush with all my battle-music on the rocks, whilst, between the grand artillery of my breakers, the wind peals its wild trumpet-tones, and the waters rush back to my breast from the cliffs they have scaled, in torrents and cascades, like the voices of a thousand rivers. My music is battle music. Storms make me musical, said the sea.

WHAT MAKES THINGS MUSICAL.

"Suffering!" said the Harp-strings. We were dull heaps of silver and copper-ore in the mines; and no silence on the living, sunny earth is like the blank of voiceless ages in those dead and sunless depths. But, since then, we have passed through many fires. The hidden earth-fires underneath the mountains first moulded us, millenniums since, to ore; and then, in these last years, human hands have finished the training which makes us what we are. We have been smelted in furnaces heated seven times, till all our dross was gone; and then we have been drawn out on the rock, and hammered and fused, and, at last, stretched on these wooden frames, and drawn tighter and tighter, until we wonder at ourselves, and at the gentle hand which strikes such rich and wondrous chords and melodies from us—from us, who were once silent lumps of ore in the silent mines. Fires and blows have done it for us. Suffering has made us musical, said the Harp-string.—*Black Ship.*

GENIUS AND LABOR.

Alexander Hamilton once said to an intimate friend: "Men give me some credit for genius. All the genius I have lies just in this: When I have a subject in hand, I study it profoundly. Day and night it is before me. I explore it in all its bearings. My mind becomes pervaded with it. Then

the effort which I make, the people are pleased to call the fruit of genius. It is the fruit of labor and thought."

Mr. Webster once replied to a gentleman who pressed him to speak on a subject of great importance:

"The subject interests me deeply, but I have not time. There, sir," pointing to a huge pile of letters on the table, "is a pile of unanswered letters to which I must reply before the close of the session (which was then three days off). I have no time to master the subject, so as to do it justice."

"But, Mr. Webster, a few words from you would do much to awaken public attention to it."

"If there be so much weight in my words as you represent, it is because I do not allow myself to speak on any subject, until my mind is imbued with it."

Demosthenes was once urged to speak on a great and sudden emergency. "I am not prepared," said he, and obstinately refused.

The law of labor is equally binding on genius and mediocrity.—*Life Illustrated.*

NATURE'S ALPHABET.

Nature's alphabet is made up of only four letters—wood, water, rock, and soil; yet with these four letters she forms such wonderful compositions, such infinite combinations, as no language of twenty-four letters can describe. Nature never grows old; she has no provincialism. The lark carols the same song, in the same key, as when Adam turned his delighted ear to catch the strain; the owl still hoots a B flat, yet loves the note, and screams through no other octave; the stormy petrel is as much delighted to sport among the first waves of the Indian Ocean as in the earliest times; birds that lived on flies laid bluish eggs, when Isaac went out into the fields at eventide, as they will two thousand years hence, if the world does not break her harness from the orb of day. The sun is as bright as when Lot entered the city of Zoar. The diamond and the onyx, and the topaz of Ethiopia are still as splendid, and the vulture's eye is as fierce as when Job took up his parable. In short, nature's pendulum has never altered its strokes.

MODESTY.

Behold the daughter of innocence!—how beautiful is the mildness of her countenance;—how lovely is the diffidence of her looks!

Her cheek is dyed with the deep crimson of the rose; her eye is placid and serene, and the gentleness of her speech is as the melting softness of the flute.

Her smiles are as the enlivening rays of the sun, the beauty of her presence, as the silver light of the moon.

Her attire is simple: her feet tread with caution, and she feareth to give offence.

"Her bloom was like the blooming flower,
That sips the early dew" —*Golden Rule.*

JACK SPRUCE.

The Neat Boy.

Jack Spruce was a neat boy. He had a brush for his clothes, and kept them clean and nice. He would not run out into the mud, and thus splash his legs and wet his feet, nor did he kick up the dust and when he came in, he would rub his feet on the mat, and hang his hat upon his own hook. No one saw him with dirt on his hands, nor with a rough head of hair, so he was at all times fit to be seen. He did not tear his book or blot it, or ink his hands at school.—*Golden Rule.*

PITY THE POOR SLAVES.

How can any one read a story like the following, and not feel his heart going out in pity for the poor slaves?

"Among the rescued from the slave barque Wildfire, at Key West, is a middle aged woman and three children. She seemed quiet and subdued in manner, and excited no special attention other than that she had a part of her family with her. Her great hope was to meet the others, from whom fate had separated her.

"On the landing of the William's cargo, she, with others of the first arrival, peeped through the fence which separated the new comers from the old. Quick maternal instinct discovered one, two, three, and four among the crowd, whom she claimed as her daughters. She gave vent to her joy in the loud language of song, and the children, hearing the familiar air of home, caught sight of the singer, in whom they found their lost mother. The meeting was one of tumultuous joy,

—abouts rose from three hundred voices for the gladness of a simple mother, and with her four daughters entwined in each other's arms, the mother took them with her, to meet the long separated, of whose fate each party was in utter ignorance."

We should remember that parents and children are separated every day by the cruelties of slavery, never more to meet on earth. And such separations are just as wicked and cruel as it would be for the same men to come and separate you and your parents, and sell you into all the horrors of bondage! Will you not pity the poor slaves, and pray that the wail of sorrow may enter the ear of the God of the oppressed, and that he may hasten the time of their deliverance?—*Wall Spring.*

A correspondent of an English paper states that in Calcutta, at the Governor-General's ball, a lady appeared in a dress which had the appearance of being on fire. In countless diminutive bags of gauze she had imprisoned fire flies, and these tacked on to her dress, far outshone the diamonds of Oriental ladies. As she walked in the more dimly lighted alleys of the gardens and grounds, she is said to have made a beautiful appearance.

GUARANTY AGAINST POTATOE ROT.—Professor Russel Comstock offers to take the supervision of different fields of potatoes, and to give one dollar a bushel for all of those which rot.—Mabettville, Dutchess county, New York, is his post-office, every day in the year.

Trifles make perfection, but perfection itself is no trifle.—*Michael Angelo.*

You who are traveling down the hill of life, should be very careful not to drive too fast. Lock your wheels.

A Georgia paper, the *Southern Confederacy*, which believes slavery to be a divine institution, has an article attempting to prove that dueling is sanctioned by the Bible.

Let your thoughts be pure, your appetite restrained, and your company select, and life will be divested of many burdens and ills.

HENRY WARD BEECHER says that the "lesson of resignation should be taught to all men."—We think there is more need of its being taught, just now, to the office-holders than to any other class extant.—*Louisville Journal.*

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